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**Some conclusions based on the data presented by Eduardo Archetti: a note  
on anti status quo conflicts in Latin America**

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SOME CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THE DATA PRESENTED  
BY EDUARDO ARCHETTI : A NOTE ON ANTI STATUS  
QUO CONFLICTS IN LATIN AMERICA <sup>1)</sup>

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Peter Heintz

We propose the following hypotheses:

1. The induction of tension in a societal unit requires the presence of structural tension with respect to the external system to which the unit belongs as well as the presence of endogenous tension in the internal system. The external tension is represented by a deficit of power operationalized in terms of E-I and U-I. The internal tension is due to the scarcity of desired goods in the internal system and, consequently, to a high degree of control over these goods by the power of the system. These two structural conditions are negatively associated since the greater the scarcity of goods the lower the possibility to differentiate between goods with a high loading of prestige and goods with a high loading of power, in other words, the lower the opening of the system. The degree of openness of the internal system correlates with the deficit of power of the unit with respect to the external system if we control the level of power of the units. For this reason, it seems that the two conditions of induction of tension are not easily compatible.

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1) BULLETIN No. 13, pp. 31.

2. However, the association between power deficit and scarcity of goods probably is not very strong and may permit, for this reason, some variation in terms of the combination of external power deficit and internal tension.

The internal tension due to the scarcity of goods and, consequently, to the control over the goods by the power may produce - among the units with little power - a tendency to establish goals which are different from those implied in the need for the controlled goods. Such a solution may reduce the anomic tension due to the internal differentiation of power. The probability that such a solution is adopted diminishes if the units with little power have the perspective of increasing their participation in the controlled goods. This perspective may be structurally operationalized by the indicator A (= E-ES in terms of Archetti's paper).

Archetti's paper suggests an operationalization of the induced anomic tension in terms of the correlations between E-I and anti status quo conflicts (CAS) and between U-I and CAS. We assume the existence of induced tension when these correlations are positive.

Which are the structural conditions determining such positive correlations on the basis of the findings presented in Archetti's paper? The following variables introduced as controls and dichotomized offer some suggestions concerning these conditions. The correlations between E-I and CAS and U-I and CAS are positive when:

- 1) I is low (+50, +40),
- 2) S/P is low (+53, +67),
- 3) Ed/ES is low (+30, +40), and
- 4) A(E-ES) is high (+55, +55).

The first three conditions referring to I, S/P and Ed/Es confirm the first part of our hypotheses according to which the induction of tension depends upon the presence of internal structural tension due to a high degree of control over the goods by the power. The fourth condition referring to A confirms the second part of our hypotheses according to which the negative association between power deficit and scarcity of goods in the internal system is not very high and the transformation of internal structural tension into anomic tension requires the perspective of an increasing participation in the goods of the system by those who have little power.

In addition, we may interpret the presence of relatively high values of A under conditions of low development as a consequence of the interference by the internal system with the possibilities - provided by the external system - of producing goods with high prestige loading and as a consequence of the pressure exerted by units of the internal system to make an increasing use of these possibilities. This interpretation is supported by the negative correlation between S/P and A (-.30).

However, Archetti shows that the external sources of tension E-I and U-I are positively associated with A. At the same time, there is independence between A and Ed/ES. Furthermore, the associations between E-I and CAS and U-I and CAS disappear when the economic growth rate ( $\Delta I$ ) is relatively high. Consequently, we may formulate the following hypothesis assuming that the power of the internal system intends to diminish anti-status quo conflicts: If the values of the external tension E-I and U-I and of the tension A were high (which may be due to an initial internal opening of the system with respect to A), a policy whose purpose were to reduce internal conflicts would have two different orientations:

- a) To increase the value of Ed/Es (which is independent from A) in the sense of the analysis presented by Rubén Kaztman



in his two contributions to the Bulletin, or

b) to increase the economic growth of the internal system.

With respect to the second alternative concerned with economic growth, we have to take into account the way in which external dependency interferes with the positive association between A and CAS.

|       | IPT  |   |
|-------|------|---|
|       | l    | h |
| A/CAS | +.34 | 0 |

This finding shows that the greater the dependency the lower the internal conflict produced by A. In other words, a policy which intends to reduce internal conflicts will tend to increase external dependency. In fact, there exists a positive association between A and IPT (.50). This is in agreement with the findings presented by Rubén Kaztman.

However, these relationships observed with respect to A (which can be interpreted as a condition for reinforcing the production of induced anomic tension or as source of internal tension) do not exist with respect to the source of tension U-I.

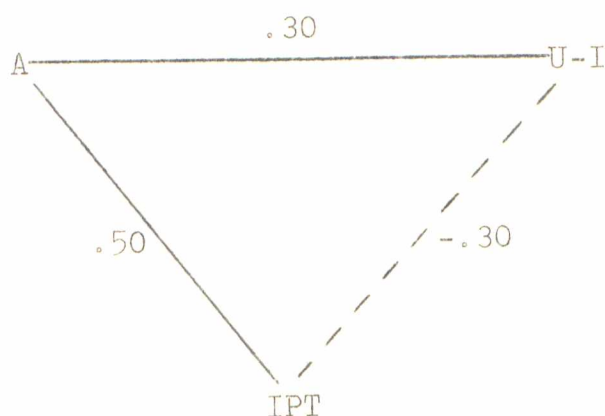
|         | IPT  |      |
|---------|------|------|
|         | l    | h    |
| U-I/CAS | -.10 | +.42 |
| U-I/IPT | -.30 |      |

In other words, the relations are reversed. This means that a policy which intends to reduce internal conflicts produced by high values of U-I will tend to decrease external dependency.

In addition, the negative correlation between U-I and IPT points to the fact that there, indeed, exists a tendency to adopt such a policy.

U-I may be considered as an indicator of the pattern of centralized development characterized by the concentration of human resources within a societal subsystem of the internal system. If this were true, the relations mentioned before would be consistent with the assumption that a policy concerned with the spatial concentration of human resources is supposed to increase the system's independence from the external system.

The following table suggests the existence of an alternative between a policy which intends to solve the problem of induced anomic tension through increasing dependency and a policy which intends to solve the same problem through isolating the internal system from the restrictive forces of the external system.



The disjunctive character of the two policies is shown by the inconsistency of the relationships which connect the three variables.